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SELECTED TRANSLATIONS ON INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST DEVELOPMENTS

(No. 16)

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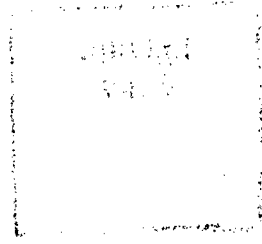
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## FOREWORD

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Preface

This is a monthly publication containing translations of materials on the International Communist Movement selected mainly from Communist and pro-Communist organs published in the Free World.

Following is a translation of two articles from two issues of the Italian-language periodical Corrispondenza Socialista (Socialist Correspondence), Rome. Specific source data is given under individual article headings.7

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I. RELATIONS BETWEEN THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY AND ITALIAN  
SOCIALIST PARTY; AND BETWEEN THE CPSU AND CCP

Vol. I, No 5, July 1960  
Pages 14-20

Antonio d'Ambrosio

Significant facts are making their appearance in the relations between the Italian Communist Party and the Italian Socialist Party and between the Soviet Union Communist Party and the Chinese Communist Party. No conclusions can be formulated as yet; but it is already possible to take one's bearings so as to fix what are the terms of the disputes, which dovetail one after another, constituting a complicated structure of subject matters.

The relations between the Italian Communist Party and the Italian Socialist Party.

The argument between the Italian Communist Party and the Italian Socialist Party has been there for some years already; but there have recently been fresh lively outbreaks in it and it has touched on subjects hitherto neglected. The avenue leading to this resumption was opened up by the report of Nenni at the last meeting of the Central Committee of the Italian Socialist Party, to which the communists replied either by intervening directly or by acting through the "socialist" elements among their faithful.

The first point is the candidacy entered by the Italian Socialist Party for the leadership of the Italian working classes: this is the meaning of the competitive aspect of the Italian Socialist Party which Nenni attributes to it in its attitude towards the Italian Communist Party. The communists have reacted: so long as the "fraternal party" contents itself with exercising an auxiliary function - important but auxiliary - the Italian Communist Party is inclined to turn a blind eye towards the Marxist-Leninist imperfections of its program and of its policy line and even to give it a helping hand; but if the "fraternal party" shows any pretensions to calling in question the function of the legitimate holder of the title of guide of the proletariat and of all the working people, then the Communist Party changes its tune. And it has changed its tune indeed, and in what a manner! Nenni has been accused of having invented the "competition" with the Communist Party of Italy for the basely opportunistic purpose of making himself attractive in the eyes of Christian Democracy and of pressing his suit for admission into the field of government. Accusations, these, that are ill-meant but very stupid, as Nenni has had little trouble in showing.

The truth is quite different, even though the communists have no intention of telling it: under Leninist doctrine the working class has and can only have one party, the Italian Communist Party. The socialist parties in the light of this doctrine are mere small-bourgeois parties and reflect in their ideology, their

program, and their hesitations, the characteristics of those strata which exist by virtue of their nature in a position between the big bourgeoisie, which pushes them in the direction of the proletariat, and the proletariat, which has to watch lest it come under their ascendancy. According to this sort of doctrine, one of the worst misfortunes that can happen to the proletariat (and during certain years it was even said that it was the worst misfortune, worse even than fascism itself) is for it to let itself be guided by the socialist parties - opportunists from the Center - or by the social-democratic parties - opportunists from the Right.

The communists cannot abandon the theory that they are the only guide of the proletariat, because if they do so they will have removed one of the columns on which their whole doctrinal structure rests and, further, the justification for the regimes installed by them wherever they have taken power.

Naturally the socialists, or at least the important majority of the Italian Socialist Party, have no thought of renouncing considering themselves to be a true workers' party and not a camouflaged small-bourgeois party; and this does not leave them troubled by worry over having sinned against Lenin, being as they are quite unconvinced of being any species of race that is inferior, as compared with that species of race of the elect that the communists constitute.

Up to this point the Italian Communist Party has succeeded in keeping the Italian Socialist Party in the subordinate position of being a useful auxiliary, skilfully employing the point of the unity of the workers (Togliatti also uses it in his more recent article in "Unita" of June 18th), a unity which is brought about by maintenance of the status quo, both as regards the relative power of each party and as regards the subordination of the Italian Socialist Party. But what now? What may be the consequences of the socialist policy of "competition" if seriously carried out?

Very important ones: in the electoral field the margin of votes that at present exists in favor of the Italian Communist Party is less unassailable than might at first sight appear; and the future political consultation of the electorate may even show a shift of votes that cancels or reduces such a margin. But will the policy of competition be carried through, carried through also that is in the sectors in which so far the "unitary" policy has been the rule; or will the decisions of the leadership be forgotten or weakened by those who should apply them, to the extent of being unrecognisable?

The policy of competition presupposes the Italian Socialist Party having its own ideas distinct from and sometimes opposed to those of the communists. Democracy, as a political habit and as the organization of the state is one of these. Through the critical clarification that the Italian Socialist Party has been making for some years past, the indivisibility of socialism from democracy

has been revived, and the socialists have regained a consciousness of its fundamental importance.

"But yes - say the communists - why not, we are also convinced of it, and even as much convinced as we are of being for certain the truest democrats;" Togliatti, in the article quoted from "L'Unita", stated: "Socialism is always democracy." As usual the communists are making a play on words; for they declare that they accept and defend parliamentary institutions, plurality of parties, and the freedom existant in the countries in which they operate in the opposition. The truth is that they pretend to be democrats because this all suits their book; and in the countries in which the other communist parties have taken power, from the moment that the parliament has been reduced to a puppet theatre, the other parties abolished, and the opposition liquidated, they quite unconcernedly say that the strangling of freedom and the suppression of democracy are the true democracy. This is the sense in which the profession of democratic faith by Togliatti is to be taken.

They say in addition that the overpowering of the state serves to prepare the death of the state; they say that the abolition of the freedom to strike signifies that the workers have become masters and that it is inconceivable that the masters strike (and if the workers are not too convinced of the syllogism, so much the worse for them: the death penalty); they say that the single party has the right and the duty to impose "socialism" - and that means its own organism with the total of the privileges, economic, social and political - on the masses of the workers even when these, under "the influences of small-bourgeois or fascists or imperialists", have no desire to have anything to do with a socialism of that sort.

But the play is no longer effective at least with the majority of the Italian Socialist Party, to whom it is already clear that a stone is a stone and not a tree and that a tyranny is a tyranny; and that no jesuitical subtlety (oh how the learned Togliatti recalls the "Phenomenology Of The Spirit") serves to give back to the unfortunate workers the freedom, the democracy and - tout court - the civil status of which they have been deprived.

\* \* \* \*

Like many people (like ourselves) the socialists of the Italian Socialist Party thought in 1956 that the indictment of Stalin made by Krushchev in the famous Report meant the condemnation not only of a dead man but also of a system of government, of a regime, of the institutions that had permitted it to make its appearance and to live. "Destalinisation" they thought must signify not only the removal and punishment of those responsible for the numberless crimes but also - let us rather say, above all - the revision of the points of the program and the reform of the institutions that had allowed the Stalin monstrosity to be; must signify liberty, democracy and socialism for the Soviet people.

The socialists recognize and they have recently reiterated that destalinisation as understood in this sense has failed and that the "anti-revisionist" campaign has served only to stop the course

of "liberalization", and even to turn it backwards. The interlude of destalinisation was brought sharply to a close and communism showed that it was unable or unwilling to tolerate the air of liberty. The Proceedings of 1957 of the communist parties put an end to hopes of this nature.

The incompatibility of communism with democracy (of whatever type so long as it is democracy) and with liberty (in all its acceptations, so long as it is liberty) is in turn no accident, because it itself is subject to the social laws that regulate the "new class" of the dominant communists and the conditions of the life of that class.

But we all need historical experience, before we cast away all our hopes of the liberalizing capability of communism.

Today at four years' remove from the 1956 crisis it can be noted - and Nenni has done so - that the institutions and the program that expressed Stalinism have substantially stayed intact and kept the evil capacity to recreate a similar phenomenon.

One can understand therefore how these appreciations find themselves conflicting with the unqualified defense that the communists make of their "regime": crimes are reduced to errors, to "misdeeds" at most, the dozens of millions of dead are considered "historical incidents", and indignation over the violent intervention by the Soviet army in Hungary is ridiculed by Togliatti (not unlike the Neapolitan beggar who accompanied Pagano, Cirillo etc., etc., to the scaffold to the sound of "Bronx cheers.")

The regime continues and is stronger than ever, they say. "But what is this regime?" return the socialists and begin to uncover the reality, dreary, primitive, and confined within the limits of the interests of the class in control.

\* \* \* \*

The appreciation made of the Soviet regime and the refusal to look up to it as a model for Italian socialism leads the Italian Socialist Party to have an attitude to things in international policy which differs from that of the Italian Communist Party; and differs more than is allowed to appear officially, due to the cautiousness of the Italian Communist Party over declaring its own position openly. For the latter party says it has repudiated the concepts of the guide-country and the guide-party; and it claims that if it does support the whole Soviet policy every time and in all circumstances, this is due to converging analyses and not to axiomatic deduction from the Soviet Union always being right; and that if the attitude of the Italian Socialist Party is sometimes different, this is owing to the Marxist-Leninist imperfection of that party.

As we said, the truth is something different from this: the Italian Communist Party identifies the policy of the Soviet Union with the good cause, the opponents of the Soviet Union with the opponents of the world proletariat, the friends of the Soviet Union with the allies of the latter. In this way the policy of opposing blocs of

powers is amply justified; further, the policy is justified that keeps the Soviet bloc compact and develops it, while the policy that sets itself similar aims, but in the bloc of the democratic nations, is repudiated and reviled as imperialistic or servile to imperialism.

The "geels' dance" that the Italian Communist Party has performed since 1945 to avoid appearing as an Italian section of the Soviet Union Communist Party, has not succeeded in avoiding demonstrating, how much its policy is permanently in step with the external policy of the Soviet Union.

For to the Italian Communist Party of course, the breakdown of the conference at the summit and the origin of the serious world political crisis are exclusively attributable to the flight of the U-2; nor does it feel embarrassed in assigning such an inadequate cause to such serious events, or in forgetting that the Marxists have always refused to see in the origins of the conflicts (but let us rather make them the disavowals) the justifications for them adopted by the powers interested in them - and especially by those who attacked. The revolver shot of the young Princip at Serajevo in 1914, the well at Wal-Wal in Abyssinia in 1935, the cases of "ill-treatment" of the Sudetens and of "aggression" by German soldiers in 1938, the "martyrdom" of Danzig, and the "crossings of the frontier" by the Polish soldiers in 1939 were as many real or supposed cases of the same value as the ordinary case of spying represented by the U-2; it was to these cases that the interested powers made attribution of responsibility for the war of 1914-18, the attack on Abyssinia, the partitioning and the German occupation of Czechoslovakia, the catastrophe of 1939-45. In these cases the emperors of Austria and of Germany, Mussolini and Hitler expressed with an eloquence not inferior to that of Krushchev their holy indignation, calling God and history to witness; but the facts being treated of were only apparently at the origins of the very grave events listed.

We will recall incidentally that the Soviet Union in its turn has fully profited from the teaching of the old diplomacy and has even in its short history displayed a collection of "cases" of identical value to justify the annexation of Lithuania, Esthonia and Latvia, the attack on Finland and even the intervention in the war against Japan when the latter country had already been forced to its knees.

The Italian Socialist Party declined to see in the flight of the U-2 the cause of the breakdown of the conference at the summit, and of the collapse of all, much or little as it may have been, that it had proved possible to build up patiently and laboriously as a foundation for peace; and it has included the policy of the Soviet Union in responsibility for the breakdown, earning of course for itself sharp reproaches and the familiar comment that it is incapable of freeing itself from a petit-bourgeois spirit.

The breakdown of the conference at the summit has confirmed for the Italian Socialist Party the need to maintain a critical



attitude towards the two blocs of powers and to consider itself, similarly, to the same extent, equidistant from the one and the other. In the last issue of "Rinascita" the Togliatti contribution accuses the autonomists of making an "ordinary attempt to stand in the middle, between wrong (here read, American) and right (Soviet, of course)." Thus and not otherwise was liquidated the claim of the autonomous socialists, adjudged almost a scandalous one, to wish to keep a position of independence from either bloc of powers.

We would not enter into the merits of the discussion as to how far, particularly in the present hour and after the bitter recent experiences, such a "neutralist" attitude is to be judged as in itself adequate, when considering the cause of the defense of democracy and of liberty against the heavy attack from communism - the cause therefore of the survival of the conditions for socialism -. What we have tried to show is how in the international relations field the positions of the Italian Socialist Party may differ from those of the Italian Communist Party and what the elements may be for a further antithesis between them.

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The sharpened polemic between the two parties and the refinement of the programs which this has called forth have had wide repercussions in the bosom of the Italian Socialist Party. Henceforth two concepts that are involving step by step all the basic questions are confronting each other, not only between the Italian Communist Party and the Italian Socialist Party, but - inside the latter - between the Socialist majority and the philo-communist minority. How long will the party be able to maintain its unity? Neither of the parties is inclined to veer from the course set, or to announce its own incompatibility with the other. Reasons of convenience make it advisable to maintain the facade of family unity before a situation dominated by disagreement and mutual reproaches.

But development of the argument against the Italian Communist Party, refining its terms, and international and national events, may themselves be stronger than the reasons in favour of staying united and may produce the splitting of the Italian Socialist Party.

In conclusion we would note that in the argument have intervened the "Chinesists" of "Nuova Generazione", an organ of the young communists, which takes a position not only in opposition to Nenni - whose "praises of the spontaneous and popular revisionism which in his view appeared in the Soviet Union in consequence of the relaxation of tension and of the increase of consumers' goods are, rather than a display of provocative irresponsibility, the sign of a reformist simplicity that we had thought already buried" - but also against the "no less patent inability of the socialist left to put up, against a serious and in its fashion (that of Nenni,

we will add) honest line of organic reform, a line of revolutionary struggle and a thought-out strategy, which could be effective alongside the communist positions for the whole workers' and democratic movement in a way that is autonomous, but (as the "Chinesists" hasten to make clear) not competitive.

Dissatisfied with Nenni, dissatisfied with the philo-communist left, the "Chinesists" finally even turn to communist comrades, unspecified but yet not to be found among the so-called dogmatic sectarians: "and it would perhaps not be in vain if even some fine spirit out of the ranks were to speed his own recovery from past illusions (this refers to the relaxation of tension) and strengthen his own correct sentiments, by making a correct analysis of the nature of imperialism and of the class struggle on the basis of Leninist teaching and of the live experience of these times."

#### The General Council of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Contrary to expectations the General Council of the World Trade Unions Federation, an organ under the formal direction of the communist Agostino Novella, meeting at Peking in the first week of June was not the usual somnolent assemblage, but the arena in which the Chinese delegation, fully supported by the Indonesian one and supported partially - as it would appear - by the other Afro-Asiatic delegations, gave battle to the Soviet line. The encounter took place in spite of the presence of about twenty delegations from Latin America and from Africa that had convened at Peking in the simple capacity of observers.

According to Foa, a delegate with socialist credentials present in Peking, "the position of the Chinese...was simple and clear. One should not talk of disarming, for disarming is impossible so long as imperialism exists and to talk about it demoralizes the masses of the workers and people, particularly in the countries still subjected to colonial domination. It is an illusion to think that the funds for armaments can be allotted to the development of underdeveloped countries, for the capitalist countries will not in any case acquiesce in such a disposition of the economies from disarming. The trade unions should not deceive the workers about the possibility of improving their condition so long as imperialism is still with us. The sole objective of the trade unions should therefore be that of the all-out, total struggle against imperialism, so as to eradicate it by revolutionary action, creating socialism. The struggle for peace should not leave out of account the distinction to be made between just and unjust wars." And we are sorry this is a rather small helping - even though Foa has forgotten from the disk another hardly negligible point: the identification of imperialism with capitalism.

The Soviets, having had almost the same yardstick applied to them that they use against the Yugoslav opportunists, have reacted against this extremist attitude; but, whatever Foa may say about it,

the official line of the World Trade Unions Federation adds up to the product of a laboriously achieved compromise, more than to a pure and simple confirmation of the ambiguous and general positions usually taken up by the World Trade Unions Federation.

It is enough to read the final motion ("Unita" of June 13th), to see how much of the Chinese vinegar comes into its mixture.

But, whether there is a Chinese contribution or not, the document contains statements that are exceedingly serious. Co-existence and international relaxation of tension are seen not as the product of an agreement between states all at bottom interested in peace, but as the result which should come from a "unitary struggle by the workers (not even by the whole people!) with the object of constraining the imperialists to embark on negotiations and accept disarmament and peaceful co-existence;" the breakdown of the conference at the summit is due exclusively to American imperialism; one must impose disarmament on the imperialists, "but it is necessary to make the situation clear to the workers, so that they cherish no illusions as to the inclinations of the imperialists to accept disarmament; relaxation of international tension is closely bound up with the anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist struggle, etc."

From what the communist delegate says ("Unita" of June 14th) the Italian delegation was unitary to an exemplary degree; the socialist Foa hence did support and approve the theses we have quoted. What is more: he associated himself with the recommendation made to the workers of the whole world that they should "actively support" the Soviet proposals in the international negotiations and that is that they should place themselves objectively at the service of a foreign state. Given the exemplary unity of the Italian delegation, the communist Romagnoli also spoke in the name of the socialist party, expressing himself in these terms:

"In the capitalist countries the policy of relaxation of tension and of peaceful coexistence has made and is making an irreplaceable contribution to the united struggle of the working class for its claims, for the development of its policy of alliances in the battle against monopolies, for the development everywhere of the forms and content of democracy."

Thus the propaganda for peace, for relaxation of tension, for co-existence should indeed be carried on, but in the capitalist world because it puts the masses in motion and the governments in difficulties, and not because one believes sincerely in what one is saying. In short a position half way between the Soviet and the Chinese theses. How one reconciles the exemplary agreement of the socialist Foa with the communists Novella and Romagnoli in all these things, and in accepting the acme of vileness that is the protest against "the violation of the fundamental rights including the right to strike" which is reported in "capitalist countries", while striking is punished even with death in the socialist countries"

- is what interests the Italian Socialist Party; as does the request for the reduction of hours of work (in the capitalist world, it is to be understood) without a single word being said against the unlimited work-time to which the Chinese laborers for example are subjected.

It seems to us that never before this meeting in Peking has the World Trade Unions Federation revealed to the same extent its true nature as a communist organization, at first exclusively at the orders of the Soviet Communist Party, and at present managed on a crop-sharing agreement possibly of a temporary nature between that party and the Chinese, it having been a meeting at which problems really of a trade union nature were not discussed other than clandestinely or to shut off stupidities or falsehoods, but at which there were long talks about the Marxist-Leninist legitimacy of the contrasted Soviet and Chinese theses. Its essentially political nature is for that matter admitted in the declaration made by Novella in "Unita" of June 19th and in the above quoted one by Foa in "Avanti!", in which the parliamentary socialist in order to defend the World Trade Unions Federation tells some more lies, as when he charges the American trade unionists with having concerned themselves with the policy of relaxation of tension, and opposing disarmament even because of the consequences it could have on the employment of labor. No, the position of the American trade unionists has been and is different: they have concerned themselves with disarmament and have considered the effects it could have on employment, but in order to give warning in time of the necessity for preparing now the plans for reconversion of warlike production into peaceful production, and thus to avoid the possibility of disarmament coinciding with an increase of unemployment.

In short: the old communist idea of the trade unions as transmission belts that serve to move the masses in the interests of the party was given a reconsideration at the Peking meeting.

The Italian Socialist Party which asserts that it is in the field of democratic parties should explain how it can reconcile this with the continuance of its trade union trend in such an organization and should say clearly whether or not it accepts the document of the conclusions of the General Council, which - one may say incidentally - includes cases of assumption of serious political responsibilities. It is not idle to recall that "in those countries" he who should dare to do infinitely less than the unionists of the World Trade Unions Federation do (and what is more have undertaken to do in the "capitalist countries") will simply finish in prison - if he is lucky - and more probably against a wall if the situation is the least bit tense.

The Italian Socialist party should say whether it accepts points 1 (anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle only in the capitalist countries), 2 (which declares that the whole

responsibility for the breakdown of the conference at the summit falls on American imperialism), 3 (disarmament imposed on the "imperialists by a struggle to be sustained even while knowing that the "imperialists" will not accept disarmament), 4 (program of untiring struggles throughout the world), 5 (the trade union movement makes the foreign policy of the Soviet Union its own); the Party should say what it thinks of point 11 (defense of the right to strike in the capitalist countries where it always does exist, and absolute silence on the fact that it does not exist in any of the countries with communist regimes) and about points 15 and 16 (creation of commissions to assist the victims of the cases of repression carried out against the trade unionists in the "capitalist countries", without a single word of regrets and respect and encouragement for the trade unionists of the socialist countries who fall victim to those "socialist" laws when they wish to be something more than, and other than state employees).

On the basis of the Peking resolution the democratic countries should await a continuous and massive trade union offensive aimed at bringing force to bear against the policy decided by the majorities of the free populations as expressed in elections of which the "socialist countries" have lost even the memory; every movement for claims promoted by the Italian General Confederation of Labor will be under suspicion of being an episode in the wide political agitation predicted at Peking, it is superfluous to say with what advantage for the workers involved.

The "document of Peking" is a decree, embodying the communist principle of the trade unions of the World Trade Unions Federation at the service of the external policy of the Soviet Union, which they have engaged themselves to support by acting in the interior of countries that are outside the field of the communist regimes: the Italian General Confederation of Labor like the other "central" trade unions also.

This is the state into which has fallen the trade union organism which is directed also by socialists, registered with the Italian Socialist Party. Is this state, and are these points which we have shown in the Peking resolution, accepted by the Italian Socialist Party?

#### China and the Soviet Union Face to Face

The new fact that emerged in the first week of June in the meeting at Peking of the General Council of the World Trade Unions Federation was the explicit contrast between the Chinese theses and the Soviet theses. One knows no more on the subject than what the Communist press, and the press of the Italian Socialist Party have supplied in the summary accounts, and in the statements of the Italian delegates who were Novella and Romagnoli of the Italian Communist Party and Foa of the Italian Socialist Party. As far, then, as has been made known, the Chinese Delegates upheld in full meeting on the international situation theses that expressed a different appreciation from that supported by the Soviet representation.

According to the socialist Foa ("Avanti" June 14th) "at Peking in the face of the report of the secretary of the World Trade Unions Federation which proposed to continue to support completely a policy of relaxation of tension, of peaceful coexistence among countries of different social regimes, and of disarmament tied to an intense aid to underdeveloped countries, the Chinese trade unions opened and developed criticism of it. The discussion was prolonged, with great feeling involved, for many days and was closed by a formal (the emphasis is ours) reconfirmation of the line of relaxation of tension."

Novella substantially confirmed the statement by Romagnoli.

For a long time (since 1928, we believe) this has not happened; all the meetings of the sort-political or trade union-turned into not a conflict of thought, but merely an adding of some ornamental trifle or of complementary accessories to the doctrinal and political program presented by the delegates of the Soviet Union Communist Party.

We do not know, as things are, what were the tone and order of the discussions; but from the reactions that the "new fact" has aroused we are disposed to think that the tone will have been lively. From that day publicly however the two greatest communist parties in the world have mobilized their respective "brain-trusts" in which the experts seek the passages in the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin in support of their cause and for the mortification of the opponent.

According to the Chinese communists one could not talk of imperialism without referring to capitalism. And since imperialism by its nature is averse to accepting the national independence of other countries, and contains the element of oppression of other peoples, it could not change its nature and could not be incapable of having a belligerent tendency. Only the anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist revolution could ensure the peace of the world, not the policy of relaxation of tension and co-existence, not compromise with imperialism, not journeys, meetings, talks.

According to the Soviets, although it is true that the imperialists are the cream of scoundrels, the historical conditions do not exist yet for a conclusive and frontal attack on capitalism, but on the other hand the possibility does exist for a broad maneuver that assures relaxation of tension and co-existence in the international field, a maneuver in which a role of first importance is reserved for the trade unions.

Is it a question of a compromise between the socialist world and the capitalist world? Certainly it is, reply the Soviets with the two articles published in Sovetskaya Rossia and in Pravda under the signatures of Dimitri Scovliaghin and N. Mathowski respectively.

A compromise, yes; but when was Lenin ever against compromises? And here are the two experts of the Soviet "brain-trust" bringing out the little work "Extremism, Infantile Malady of Communism" which

despite its lack of bulk is one of the fundamental works of Lenin. What did the Master say? Turning to the Bordigas, the Terracinis (and Togliatti last month deliberately did not spare himself the perverse pleasure of recalling him), to the Pannecoeks, to the German Workers' Party, and to the leftists of all the world, Lenin inquired sardonically "no compromises, ever?" and drew their attention to the distinction between compromises that are useful to the revolutionary cause, and harmful compromises: the compromises that are useful are those that enable an action to be executed to create or favor the ripening of suitable conditions for the revolution, the harmful ones are those that let the party dally in explicit admission or implicit toleration of the democratic order and the capitalistic system.

Sovietskaya Rossia and Pravda have for the time being restricted themselves to treating matters quite broadly, citing only some cases of tactical errors committed by the Spanish communist party and by the minutely small communist party of Western Germany; still no one has doubted that it was a case of the letter addressed to the mother-in-law being for the eyes of the daughter-in-law.

The Soviet-Chinese disagreement amounts substantially to the following propositions: the possibility and the expediency of the relaxation of tension and of co-existence do exist for the Soviet Union, for China they do not.

"To the extremists of today - wrote Scevliaghin - the development of peaceful co-existence, the struggle against the rearmaments race, and the stabilization of peaceful and friendly relations among the peoples of the capitalist countries are a deviation from Marxism-Leninism and the smallest (sic) worsening of the international situation is held by them to be a demonstration of their sectarian convictions" (we cite from "Unita" of June 13th; we believe a word has been dropped and it is "a demonstration of the exactness of their sectarian convictions" - or something of the sort). Without explicitly naming them the Chinese are stamped as infantile, sectarian, and dogmatic extremists: "some mistakenly judge - says "Pravda", driving it home - peaceful co-existence between countries of different social regimes, the struggle against armaments and for the stabilization of friendships and peace between peoples, the talks between the political leaders of the socialist and the capitalist countries, to be a recession from marxism."

This extract opens a window onto the debates at the General Council of the World Trade Unions Federation, where the Chinese and the Indonesians evidently accused the Soviets of having receded, no less, from Marxism. When one considers that a good portion of the Zengakuren, the student association that was the protagonist in the Tokyo disorders, publicly judges Khrushchev and the leading cast [sic] of the Soviet Union Communist Party to be "traitors to communism", one has to conclude that the Chinese - Soviet disagreement is serious and perhaps not easily or not lastingly curable.

Apart from this, it has already spread in another field, a no less delicate and perhaps for the interested parties more burning one than that of international relations. The subject, a present, has only been touched on in comment in the article by Scevliaghin: "It is a question of neither standing at the tail of events, nor running ahead of them shouting words of a socialist sort when the conditions for this are not yet created."

"Avanti!" of June 13th for its part reports this other extract from the article by Matkowski, maliciously omitted from "Unità"; "the course of socialist development is objective. The statements according to which in the international movement once power has been taken one can immediately proceed to communism, without passing through definite phases of historical development, are erroneous. Such statements contradict Leninism."

Are not the Chinese communists here to be held in the sights? For our part, however, we think that the subject opened up by the insinuation of the Soviet theoretician, which is very closely reminiscent of one of the accusations aimed at Tito in 1947, will subsequently be entered into more deeply; the experts of the two supreme brain-trusts are probably already consulting dusty tomes to document the legitimate divergence of the opposite points of view.

Perhaps there has commenced that struggle for the hegemony over the world communist forces between the Soviet Union Communist Party and the Chinese Communist Party, between the already ancient Soviet Union and the restless young China that was foreshadowed by the explicit taking up of positions by the Chinese on the eve of the encounter at the summit, when it was thought a success at the meeting was possible in spite of the U-2 incident. The deliberate decision of Khrushchev to avail himself of this incident to cause a last minute breakdown of the first stage of the international negotiations aimed at assuring the peaceful co-existence of countries with democratic institutions and countries with communist regimes will have been in this case more a tactical necessity, to save the unity between the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic, than a choice.

Contemporaneously there took place, perhaps in compensation, a renewal of the "firecracker" polemic ("meaning by this name a certain tightly folded paper with a little gunpowder inside it, that boys use as a toy, for on setting light to a fuse placed in one side of it it will pop as many times as the folds in the paper." Donzelli, "Parthenope Libertata") between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, who, as is known, always use for this job two reviews which have the same heading, "Kommunist".

The Yugoslavs, disliked by the Soviets and still more by the Chinese, are the "Turk's Head" against which the two orthodox parties tilt their anti-revisionist lances. The former weigh wrongs and rights and then conclude they desire to keep themselves at an



equal distance from both the bloc of the democratic nations and that of the countries with communist regimes; and they consider the existence of the blocs, regardless of their nature, to be a serious threat to the independence of countries and to world peace.

The existence of a Yugoslav Communist League is very useful to the Soviets as well as the Chinese, for criticizing each other in turn while instead seeming to be directing themselves against the Yugoslav revisionists.

Thus "Red Flag", the Chinese ideological review, has confirmed the point of view of the Chinese communists again in a long article of which "Avanti!" of June 16th, has given a summary report (while "Unita" has totally ignored it): "imperialism will never change its nature" and "the people have no alternative but to engage in a struggle to the end with it, and to cherish no illusions;" "to think on the basis of some fleeting gestures made by the imperialists in the direction of a lessening of the tension that the cold war is ended and that a so-called new era has begun, does not represent a deliberate attempt to make imperialism more pleasing, but is at the least a naive idea with no concrete basis in fact. Because certain imperialists, Eisenhower for example, have made empty, pleasant speeches about peace, some people think that he must be a person who is very much in favor of peace."

As can be seen, the communist Chinese have not followed the "fraternal" advice of the Soviet communists, they have not felt any need to study Marxism-Leninism again, they have not let themselves be intimidated by the charge of being dogmatic, sectarian and infantile, and they have not undertaken the customary self-criticism - all of which is a very serious matter in the strange world of communism.

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Our article is an examination of "what is boiling in the pot," simply a look at the terms of the intricate Soviet-Chinese affair and at the Italian Communist Party/Italian Socialist Party polemic; as we said at the beginning, it is dangerous to make predictions about the line along which events will develop.

The Italian Socialist Party for instance seems decisively set on the course of differing from the Italian Communist Party; but will it follow it consistently, or will it stop mid-way, or will it turn back the moment it draws the political consequences from the premises of the program? We have mentioned the National Council of the World Trade Union Federation and its deliberations; on the document published by "Unita", "Avanti" is silent, at least up to now. Silence is only too convenient, but does not suffice to divide the socialists' responsibility from that of the communists for everything that could happen if the Italian General Confederation of Labor should set going those wide movements with political ends to which it is bound by the approval given this document.

Foa has not been disavowed, the socialist "trend" in the Italian General Confederation of Labor has not been warned that it should oppose the setting in motion of the Italian workers' masses in support of the Soviet foreign policy and of that of China; the leadership of the Italian Socialist Party and "Avanti" are silent when it is the time for clear words and concrete facts that isolate the communists.

It is easier to make predictions about the Chinese-Soviet difference of views. In our opinion it is in the initial phase and is destined to spread and become more serious. In the world of communism there is no touching certain keys without setting off chain reactions. There no longer exist between the two greatest communist parties of the world divisions of labor and of territorial spheres, and we have seen for example that the wind from China reaches as far as Italy to liven up the young men of "Nuova Generazione." The communists are like the theologians; their polemics begin at a distance and they circle in the offing beyond the things attainable by the comprehension of common mortals, but once the critical examination is set in motion it is difficult for it to stop before it has demonstrated the vile error of the holder of the contradictory view. The "brain-trusts" will have to work hard on demonstrating to the Soviets that their communism is the only one with its papers in order and to the Chinese, on the contrary, that theirs is the communism that is authentically Marxist-Leninist. What the world can expect from the one and the other is another matter, which goes beyond the limits of this article.

## II. NINTH CONGRESS OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

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Antonio d'Ambrosio

The only time that the frigid IXth Congress of the Italian Communist Party was shaken by a flash of sincere enthusiasm was when Marosan, the delegate of the Hungarian "fraternal party", went up to the platform greeted by the bursting, emotional, and endless applause of the members of the Congress. It is to be observed that just on this day or the preceding the news of the execution of 150 young Hungarians had caused consternation in non-communist circles; before Marosan had even opened his mouth and stated whether the party of which he is the Vice-President accepted responsibility, or it might be the honor, of the execution or whether the news was denied, the members were on their feet and showed in a spontaneous ovation that as for them, whether the hangings were true or not, the Hungarian "socialist" government deserved the applause and the support of the Italian communists. Feeling the tightness of their new democratic uniform, bound to swallow the interminable interventions on the middle classes, on freedom, on relaxation of tension, the members at last relaxed, were able to bestir themselves, and shouted their impassioned solidarity with the Hungarian government which, whether the news mentioned were true or exaggerated, is always to all those who are not active in the Italian Communist Party a government of assassins.

Democracy, respect for oppositions, plurality of parties, alliance with middle classes and with political movements, guarantees of liberty, all the themes of the policy line elaborated by the labors of the appropriate commissions and expounded from the platform, received the most convincing comment from the Congress members themselves; pamphlets, directives, newspapers, circulars, and days and days of words, flowing from the mouths of the orators, all this turned out to be a pile of useless and tiresome chatter.

We do not say this out of an opposition due to preconceived ideas, but because we are convinced that the programs of political parties cannot be and should not be examined and evaluated for what they say, but with regards to the actions and the behavior of the political organizations that they created.

Without this strict adherence to reality and to the practice of the party, to examine the political programs is useless; it being possible to find in every one of them, acceptable ideas, claims that one can adopt, propositions that one shares, without its meaning much.

To examine what the party is doing, to note its concrete acts today and yesterday, to recall the judgment repressed [sic] by it on facts of signal importance, this is the only way to make an examination of its program that has value and meaning.

Deeds are much more significant than words: the IXth Congress, entered into under the auspices of the planned casuistry of Brecht's rhymes, disclosed the nature of the communist party and of its real aims through the warmth and emotion of the reception accorded to the representative of the Kadar government.

Is a further examination of it of no use, then? Quite the contrary. In spite of the basic contrast between the written platform and real intentions, between words and deeds, the IXth Congress is a political event to which the greatest attention will be paid. It constitutes the greatest and most organized effort of the communist party to emerge finally from the crisis of 1956, and exploit all the possibilities offered it by the spectacular Soviet successes in the field of missiles and of the relaxation of international tension, within what limits and in what manner we shall see.

It would be untrue to say that it was a question of one Congress being like another: that would itself be to dismiss the importance and the actual menace of the Italian communist party by saying one way of dismissal is as good as another. The IXth Congress was not like the other Congresses: because it was held in the conviction that the hour of the conquest of power was about to strike.

To this was subordinated everything; the theses, the resolutions, the speeches of the leaders, the reports had no moral purpose at all, nor were they expected to tell the truth, but merely to make analyses that would justify this aim, and to head the party towards preparing itself to advance towards attaining it.

#### The Relaxation Of Tension According To The Italian Communist Party

The chief element of the "new situation", that according to the Italian Communist Party opens up this great perspective, consists of the relaxation of international tension.

It is presented not as a meeting between the democratic world and the communist world on a point of compromise between opposing theses, nor as the product of a general determination to have peace, but as a unilateral act of the Soviet Union, on which the other countries are constrained to look favorably, whether because of the alleged military superiority of the U.S.S.R., or because of the contradictions of the capitalistic system, and because of the energetic pressure of the popular masses and of the peace movement. Confined within the classic scheme of anti-imperialism, the communist party could not admit that the "final stage" analysed by Lenin could have been followed by a further stage, the present one, characterised by the transformation of the techniques of production and destruction, in the course of which "neo-capitalism is born and develops and hence the policy of peace and compromise is rendered possible. It refuses to recognize the new reality brought about by the transformation of the means of production and destruction, because this reality conflicts with the Leninist hypothesis of the inevitability of imperialism and hence of war.

The relations between Western countries and colonial peoples are consequently viewed with the distortion of such a prejudice and are presented in a one-sided and false manner, as are the relations between these same peoples and the countries with communist regimes. For it is not true that all the Western states are always, and always stubbornly, attached to colonial possessions. It is even one of the typical characteristics of the present phase in history that the Western states are relinquishing such possessions: it is sufficient to recall India, the Sudan, Gambia, Guinea....the fact that colonies still exist does not give the lie to this process of liquidation of the colonial empires and of their replacement with large communities and federations of peoples and sovereign states, but simply shows that the process is still the development stage; and the cases where the colonisers are resisting renouncing positions of rule and exposition are not such as to stultify the evidence for such a historical process.

But where the calculated misrepresentation of the communists reaches its height is in their presenting in an idyllic fashion the relations between the countries with communist regimes and the colonial peoples. Actually to examine these relations would be as embarrassing as it could be, and it is understandable that the communists have no interest in, nor intention of doing so. We would note among the "new facts" that would give them cause to reflect if they faced them seriously, the birth and the practice of Chinese expansionism (incorporation of Tibet, demands for Indian and Burmese areas); the annexationist drive of Egypt, a country that was until a few years ago itself a colony; the nature of the relations between the Soviet Union and countries with "peoples' democracies."

Relations of paternal collaboration and voluntary alliance -- established "with full respect for the sovereignty, independence and political initiative of each party" -- these are the official forms; but what is in fact the substance of such relations? What their real nature? As with all countries with totalitarian regimes of whatever type, every enquiry is made difficult by the extreme scarcity of information, by the lack of a free press, and of a legal opposition, and because in the totalitarian countries the real truth is one thing and the officially shown truth is something else, as we Italians well knew during the Fascist regime.

The real nature of the relations between the Soviet Union and its "fraternal allies" has been glimpsed only in the flashes of light thrown by the days of the Polish and Hungarian crisis of 1956 or during the rupture between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union: relations of economic exploitation, of political subjection, of military and police pressure not differing from those that existed in the darkest periods of imperialism between colonizing states and colonial countries.

If in the present phase we have witnessed Western States agreeing to the independence of the countries that were their colonies, we have not yet noted a single similar act by the countries with communist regimes; these "fraternal" countries keep a firm grip on their domains, and thrust on to conquests of new lands and new peoples with the greed, hypocrisy and fierce will of the colonisers of the classical age of imperialism.

The birth of imperialism in countries with different economies from the capitalist economy is one of the most embarrassing and distressing of facts; but to disregard it, because of preconceptions or an impossibility of cataloging it in the Leninist scheme, does not nullify its disturbing reality.

The limited, one-sided and false idea of imperialism is not a propaganda exaggeration, but is an article of the tables of Marxist-Leninist science formulated after months of work by the appropriate commission of the Central Committee and repeated whether in the report by Togliatti or in the interventions by the more qualified of the leaders. It is the idea that is at the basis of the successive developments of the program (which therefore cannot fail to be affected by it), an idea that rivets the party to considering and dealing with the world as if sharply divided between good and evil, between the good and the wicked.

The communist party has not made the most modest effort to turn its eyes outside the scheme and to know a world that has undergone great transformations since the period in which Lenin was writing "Imperialism, Last Stage Of Capitalism" and was drawing up the theses of the IIIrd. International. Shut within the circle of premises and consequences examined at that time, it believes that its task consists in making reality square with the scheme through a patient labor of reasoning; hence come the suspicion and the concern over every attempt at unprejudiced inquiry, the anger against heresy and the hatred for revisionism.

There is thus nothing new in the theses of the Central Committee and the line for the platform that were presented by Togliatti at the IXth Congress so far as regards the idea of imperialism and the evaluation of the relations between states.

#### Awaiting The Economic Crisis

It is with the same conservatism that other points that are also of capital importance are treated.

As has been noted before, the official theory of communism considers that capitalism contains within its contradictions the premises of economic crises of growing extent and seriousness, which are incapable of not exploding. Since the crisis is an essential characteristic of the system, it is considered to be inseparable from capitalism.

The expectation of the great economic crisis has been constant from the end of the war up to today, even from 1929 up to today; the communist observers have been constantly on the alert to watch for

the signs and to hail it on the first appearances of them.

But after the 1929 crisis further equally serious ones did not occur. It is true that there was the preparation for war, first, and then the outbreak of the war, to alter the normal cycles of production and consumption; it is true that there was the post-war period and then that of international tension and of armaments; it is true that the matter had to be dealt with of the vast rebuilding of so much of the world, and that these are also factors that have changed the normal imbalance between production and consumption; but after all, the crisis, the serious, deep, unrestrainable economic crisis has not taken place, which is contrary to all the expectations and all the calculations of the communist economic observers.

In 1958 and in the first half of last year there appeared the imbalance to which the term "recession" was given. "Here we are", said the communist party, judging that the recession would get worse to the point of becoming rapidly a great and perhaps final economic crisis. In the various meetings of the Central Committee which took place at the time the expectation of a "revolutionary solution" grafted onto the economic crisis constituted the basis of the policy line (and also of organizational preparations). The party was placed on a state-of-alarm footing to make an attack in a revolutionary sense - it might be by aggravating the social differences further or as a resolving force - against the political situation which was to have resulted; but the recession did not develop into the economic, social and political crisis that the communist party expected.

One of the points advanced by the revisionists concerned just this idea of the crisis, an idea which according to the revisionists rests on an antiquated and dogmatic knowledge of capitalism. The revisionists particularly deny the fatal nature of the crisis and its inseparability from the capitalist system. The revisionist heresy consisting in "historicising" Marx and in admitting that capitalism today presents elements and characteristics not present in the era of Marx, unleashed the heavy sarcasm of the Togliattis, Longos and Amendolas, when the party convinced itself that the great crisis had started. According to them the reality, the very reality they invoked, put the revisionists in the wrong, with the further guilt, among so many other things, of being short of dialectic; but actually, as was then seen, reality put the revisionists in the right: the recession was overcome, a new period of economic buoyancy followed it, unemployment - which in the expectations of the communists was to reach abysmally bad figures -- is diminishing. This is the reality evident to all except the communist party, or at least its leaders who obstinately continue to declare in the Theses that "In the capitalist world the signs of the general crisis which is continuing and deepening have become associated in recent years with those of an economic crisis of a cyclical character that started in the United States with the recession of the spring of 1957."

If it was not a question of a political party expressing itself on affairs, nothing would be more amusing than to watch this tricky maneuvering against imagined targets, but one must remember that one is not dealing so much with hallucinations as with attempts to explain certain facts which would not square otherwise with the logic of the "system", and to keep alive in the party the alternative course of revolutionary action.

#### Atomic War and the Rights of Peoples

This same thesis includes, and not we believe accidentally, the expectations of the results from an atomic war. The line of argument is unique: just as the proletariat will arise victorious from the economic crisis because it is guided by the communist party, so will the ruin of the western countries result from the war. For a long time the communist propaganda, including Khrushchev's speeches, has oscillated between the total catastrophe hypothesis and that of the catastrophe limited to the capitalist countries; but now the Italian Communist Party has decided: "the American atomic monopoly has ceased to exist, being replaced by an evident military inferiority, and the arms of today are such that in the case of a general conflict not one of the western countries - and this includes the United States of America - would avoid the total destruction." (Thesis 4a, Part I)

Then why the total ruin is miraculously to spare the eastern countries, is not said. But no matter: what interests the communist party is explaining that here is the reason that obliges the leaders of the non-communist states to accept or pretend to accept the relaxation of tension that the Soviet Union has disinterestedly offered. On the one side, hence, the craven-hearted who accept the peace so as not to be destroyed, on the other the big-hearted who made the generous offer of peace though capable of "wiping the floor" with their adversaries.

This is the communist idea of relaxation of tension, of the "new course" in international politics, the "true", "scientific" idea which serves as ideological food for the comrades and allows them to find their way among the various forms that events take.

It is understandable therefore that this formulation of antitheses between Good and Evil is reflected in the picture of and the judgment on past facts. Cold war? It is clear that the responsibility lay with the non-communist countries and parties. They are all guilty: United States, Germany, France, Catholics, Social Democrats, the Groups, right, left and center.

And the first blockade of Berlin, decided on by the Soviets in the Stalin period, and which almost started off the third world war? And the attack on Korea? And the arming of Egypt? They were nothing, the Westerners were always to blame.

As is seen, the communist party has not modified by one tittle its judgement, not even of events already past. It is true it has not repeated that the Americans made war in Korea with poisoned flies and beetles, but it has not admitted having exaggerated.



However, the Yugoslav communists have maintained that the formation of opposed blocs, the responsibility for the cold war, is nonetheless jointly that of the Western countries and of the Stalinist policy of the Soviet Union; but...but...but...one is dealing with Yugoslav communists, decidedly under suspicion of living in sin and self-satisfied in their heresy.

To the Italian Communist Party on the other hand everything is clear: the wicked Westerners desired the cold war and the international tension, the good communist government circles on the contrary desired peace and relaxation of tension. The objections that have been made to such formulation are ignored or passed over.

The present thesis of Khrushchev is that disarmament constitutes the most urgent problem for solution. It is on record (and all of an endless documentation exists in this connection) that the controversial point is the control over disarmament, which the Soviet Union always refuses. Only in the last months has Khrushchev seemed to have come in some of his speeches closer to acceptance of control. What is happening on the other hand to the Thesis of the communist party? "This struggle (the struggle for peace) should have as its first aim a general disarmament, to be carried out gradually but rapidly, with corresponding controls..." (Thesis 5a, Part I); the condition, requested and requested again numberless times in vain by the Westerners is blandly made a communist claim in the movement and struggle for peace!

But, take care! say the communists - disarmament and control are not enough, one must have "the attribution to all states of equal dignities and rights in international relations, the renunciation of all intervention whatever in the internal affairs of other states to prevent the peoples freely deciding for themselves their economic and political institutions." How can one be in anything but agreement with a demand of such admirable character? But how can one keep silent over the fact, that it is not to the West that the call is made for less belligerent practices in international politics, but to the countries with communist regimes? The most monstrous act of intervention in the internal affairs of a country, the bloodiest denial of the right to "decide freely for themselves the political and social institutions," the most brutal blackmail of the free world ("either let me be, or it is world war") is constituted by the Soviet army expedition into Hungary and the murder of a people which just did try to give itself its own political and social institutions.

Are the Western countries not liable to blame, some more so, some less? Agreed. But public opinion in these countries is stirred, cries out, protests, and in the end the governors have to reckon with it; which is not what happens in the countries with communist regimes. Then let us also say it clearly and frankly: since the end of the war no deed of brigandage has been perpetrated which can be compared with the Hungarian tragedy. One of the acts

in that tragedy was the trial of Imre Nagy and his companions who were charged with having wished to introduce a democratic regime which would permit the existence of more parties, with having detached Hungary from the Warsaw Pact, with having proclaimed the country's neutrality and with having turned to the U. N. to protest against the intervention by the Soviet army. This intervention continues to be, to the Italian Communist Party, an honorable deed, and the Kádars and the Marosans are not assassins but the revered heads of a brother party.

#### Communism and the Soviet Army

The Congress of the Italian Communist Party is not be judged solely by what was said there, but one must keep also before one what they omitted to say.

It is all right for the Italian Communist Party to say (Thesis 6a, Part I) that Italy should pursue a policy of peace and for it to commend a national policy against vassallage: but how serious are these public statements when they are not accompanied by denunciation of that vassallage in which the smaller states governed by communist parties are held under the Soviet Union? How is one to believe in the sincerity of the national policy commended by the communists, if some communists at the same time prevent these countries from carrying out a national policy of their own? How is one to consider them as in good faith if in order to pile up proofs of the "reactionary" character of the Italian structure they go so far as to talk of the "imperialist character of big Italian capital". (Thesis 1a, Part II). Why this ridiculous exaggeration? What use is it, unless to justify in advance treats that may come to be made against Italy?

"The communists have always said that it is absurd to think that the socialist camp should enlarge itself and that socialism could triumph by using the armed strength of some socialist state stronger at the time" (Thesis 7a, Part I). It is not true. The communists have said many times, and what is more have always believed, exactly the opposite. There recurs about this time the twentieth anniversary of the attack of the Soviet Union on Finland and of the attempts to annex that country, by the very method of trying to introduce into it behind the Soviet army a government of communists that had been set up in the Soviet Union. And it was through the march of the Soviet army in Lithuania, in Esthonia, and in Lettonia that those countries ceased to exist as independent states to become parts of the Soviet Union; it was following on and by virtue of the Soviet military expansion that the belt of the vassal states was formed in the center of Europe: Albania, Rumania, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia; and it is only the presence of the Soviet army in East Germany that permits a coterie of political parasites to set themselves up as rulers of the state and to dispose of the way of life and even the way of thinking of that portion of the Germans.

These are the facts which, what is more, also correspond with the ideology. In 1947-48 there was worked up a ridiculous theory that found, coming from the Soviet Union, brotherly welcome in the communist newspapers and in the review "Rinascita", personally managed by Togliatti. This theory was invented to deny all socialist character to Yugoslavia, and to prevent once for all similar heresies in the parties of the countries not occupied by the Soviet army. According to this strange theory socialism could only be built up in the countries under the military occupation of the Soviet army and no partisan movement, no action by the party could make up for its absence. It is true that for years this device has not been insisted on, but it is also true that no criticism has been made of it and that therefore it continues to exist, if necessary in moth-ball status, ready to be given a showing again if the occasion should present itself.

Some time later in the wake of a dispute that had Thorez as protagonist a long "dialogue" was held by Togliatti and Gonella on the subject of the attitude the communists would have taken if the Soviet army had fought against our country. Thorez in reply to the same question had given a clear and definite reply: "the communists would be for the Soviet army and would assist it in its advance"; Togliatti tried to evade the question, wriggled, had recourse to his "dialectical" tricks, balanced himself on ambiguous sentences, and it required the Carthusian, monkish patience of Gonella to keep track of the line of discussion and insist on a reply, which in the end came: the Italian communists also, if every attempt to avoid the conflict failed, would have stretched out their hands to the Soviet army and helped it to march to the farthest border of the country.

These are the data to date; do the Italian communists deny it? They say they do, and in that case, since the Soviet military occupation is a reality in many countries in Europe, let them pronounce against, protest against, and cease the presenting of regimes that were created as a result of the military occupation, and are supported by the Soviet armed force, as democratic and socialist institutions freely chosen by the people obliged to support them. Only then could it be asserted not that the communists have always repudiated but that they show intention of repudiating, now, military conquest as a means of building up socialism.

#### Ambiguity

Until the Italian Communist Party has clarified its relations with the Soviet Union, the justifiable suspicion will always hang over it of its action having aims fixed not with a view to the victory of the proletariat or of democracy or of socialism or of peace, but in order to create a situation useful to the Soviet Union and to install their government in Italy with the political, financial, technical and military help of the Soviet Union. In that case Italy would be aligned in the belt of vassal countries, which would thus move its boundaries to the Mediterranean and towards the West.

The Italian Communist Party has not clarified its relations with the Soviet Union, not even in the course of this IXth Congress. It is true reference is no longer made to the "Guide-state," to the "Guide-country", to the "Guide-party"; but the principle of the national party, which is yet international; which is independent, but bound to fraternal parties; which has its own life through socialism, but does not fail to take into account the experiences of others, is so ambiguous that it can comprise within itself, and serve as justification for, every policy, even for one that is merely a reflection of Soviet policy.

At bottom the Italian Communist Party has not broken unequivocally with even the most brutal Soviet experience, that of Stalin, and its leaders continue to talk from time to time of the "errors", but also of the merits, of one of the most sinister personages in world history.

As is on record, the sincere, clear, final, solar [sic] rupture with Stalinism and with all that it created - theories and institutions - has been the demand of the revisionists; so it is logical that the leaders of the Italian Communist Party should be particularly incensed against the revisionists, and swell with pride at having overcome the crisis that appeared in the party at a result of the publication of the Khrushchev report and of the Soviet intervention in Hungary, overcome it that is at least on the surface.

#### Monopoly and the Middle Classes

The communist criticism of economic monopolies is fierce and diffuse but is far from being satisfying. In general the subject is treated in a declaratory way for agitation and election purposes, and analysis of the characteristics and nature of monopoly is neglected. Naturally the problem has not even been touched on of the similarities between capitalist economic monopolies and the economic monopolies formed in "socialist" regimes, similarities that are numerous and ought to suggest more than one reflection. The tendency, particular to monopolies, to force the market to adapt itself to its product is found again in the "socialist" monopolies; as is again found in them the imposing of the price of the products, management centralization, vertical and horizontal expansion, and the incorporation of other enterprises. Also common to the two types are the tendency to have the particular affairs of the monopoly considered as general affairs, which should not be touched so as not to provoke catastrophic politico-social consequences; the tendency to think that every attack on their existence or their management is an attack on the national economy; and the tendency to subordination of the state.

The corrective against the negative tendencies of monopolies - which are inherent in this organization of production and of trade, whether it is a question of the capitalist scheme or of that of Sovietism - is only one: the broadest, the deepest, the truest democracy.

It is just the right of defense against monopolies that communism does not and cannot offer. So that if in Italy it is possible to rage against true or presumed monopolies, bringing suit publicly on prices, quality, the benefits of them, in short on the whole management of them, in the Soviet Union it is not possible (or is possible only when Authority starts an interval of criticism and for the duration of the interval) because every criticism of the quality of the cement or the tyres or the shoes, every criticism of the caloric value of the gas, every criticism of the distribution of the fertilizers, comes into collision with reasons of state and falls under suspicion of being dictated by capitalist feelings or resentments, of familiarity with what is foreign.

The Soviet economy (like those modelled on it) far from being anti-monopolistic is the extreme of monopoly, supermonopoly not tempered by the co-existence with it of medium and small industry, nor by the possibility for the consumers of being able to direct their preferences elsewhere, nor by freedom to criticise the ways in which it is managed.

The cardinal problem of socialism is that of reconciling socialism with freedom; while the Soviet system consists in the entire nationalization of the economy, in the suppression of democracy and liberty.

To the fight against monopolies, for their limitation and control, the communist party calls not only the social classes to which it habitually turns, but also the middle classes, the professional people, the intellectuals: and the appeal is made both to those who are harmed economically by the existence of monopolies, and to all those who are attached to democratic institutions and to freedom that are put in danger by the action of the monopolies.

But so that the appeal should have some possibility of finding a reception it is necessary to reassure the middle classes as to the purpose of the communist party, thus avoiding those concerned preferring to stay in the frying pan rather than fall into the fire. So the fullest assurances are now given, without limits, without compromises attached, without any hindrances. All are told formally and by various means that the communist party guarantees, to each one and always, the possession of his factory, of his business, of his store, of his farm, the free exercise of his profession of doctor, of lawyer, of engineer, of writer, of artist. And the farmers are told that they can choose at their pleasure between the private management of their farms or a cooperative form of association.

The communist programme has become a huge system of casuistry in which are listed categories and sub-categories, with an indication for each one of the remedy for the ill and of the suitable words that comfort and reassure. A truly great effort has been made by the party to look around everywhere, at every social group from the South to the Po Valley, from the mountains to the seas, to find the signs in them of dissatisfaction and to suggest the appropriate remedy.

All this has been done in absolute, cold bad faith. There is not a communist leader who does not know how in not one, not a single one, of the countries in which the brother parties succeeded in setting up their regimes have the promises been kept of respecting non-monopolistic private property whether it be industrial, agricultural or commercial. The march towards collectivization has involved all sectors; and the absurd point has been reached of socializing the stores of the paper dealers, the barbers, the shoe-makers, the antique dealers, thrusting into prison or beneath the sod the owners reluctant to abandon them. Measures of this sort cannot have a Marxist explanation, but fit into the logic and the regular pattern of the communist terror: the small shopkeeper, the farmer, the poorest merchant are a nuisance as an element with no place in the social framework, are considered as relics of a vanished world, the hot-bed for grumbles, bewailings, and satires against the regime. And they are attacked mercilessly.

There is not a communist leader who does not know how the medium and small proprietors have been expropriated, driven from their houses, forced to leave their movables and linen there at the disposal of the new occupants, officers, policemen, party and government functionaries. There is not a communist leader who does not know how complete socialisation - absurd from the Marxist point of view, necessary from the communist point of view - has cost millions of human lives, broken by hunger, by cold, by despair, by sufferings, by prison, by confinement, by bullets.

The communist party prefers not to talk about these things, but in reality it is not ignorant of them: it builds on the simple-mindedness of the neighbor and on the histrionic ability of the qualified active communists: it does not denounce what has happened in the countries of the victorious brother parties, it does not examine the causes of it, it does not point out how it may be possible that it does not happen in Italy.

#### The Farmer Class

The greatest double talk is used intentionally concerning the farmers. The Italian communist Party tries to repeat exactly in Italy what the Russian communist party and, modelled on it, the other communist parties, have carried out in the other countries. It is a matter of moving the masses of all those that may have an interest in agricultural production to the conquest of the land, keeping in a compact bloc in this first stage the laborers, the owner-farmers, the share croppers, the tenant-farmers, and even the richest owners of the estates of the Po Valley. And then? Then, when the communist party shall have obtained possession of the power and can deploy its army, its police and its judges, it is quite another matter. Now the bloc will be graded and, each in turn, one of the categories will be stamped as counter-revolutionary and deprived of the land. Victory of the poor farmers? Yes, they think so and dance for joy; but not for long because the day comes also

when they are invited to "put the land together" and are placed in the dilemma of either accepting collectivization or facing an armed fight against the power of the state.

There is no reason is to be seen why the Italian communists should act differently from the way the Russian, Hungarian, Chinese, etc. communists have acted.

The Italian communists have not made the least effort to note critically the events in the Soviet Union during the years of Stalinism, and especially the motives for which the "Right" of the Russian communist Party (Bukharin, Rykov, Tomski), which had yet aided Stalin and the "Center" against Trotsky, was accused at a certain moment of holding a counter-revolutionary position: and this because of its attitude on this very question of the farmers and enforced socialization.

The communist leaders take good care not to submit these data to the critical examination of the comrades and draw the moral for the Italian situation; they - even Togliatti who knew Bukharin personally and was his friend - continue to repeat parrot-like the story of the "Bukharin gang" sold to the capitalists, formed of traitors, saboteurs, etc., etc., possibly omitting only, after the death of Stalin, that revolutionary justice does well to punish the gang severely.

The reserve maintained by the communist leaders about the events that concern the attitude towards the farmers, shows that the Italian communist state also would repeat towards the farmers the policy of forced "collectivization" and of terror carried out by all the communist parties that have attained power.

The break-up of the Italian agricultural economy that would result from the successive revolutionary waves in the various strata of farmers would be the grounds and the justification for the communist state to intervene against the farmers to "save the cities from hunger" with all the measures that such intervention called for in the Soviet Union and in the other so-called socialist countries.

#### The Status of the Workers

Naturally the working class remains again in the new program the mass of maneuver and the shock group onto which the Italian Communist Party proposes to graft the most diverse interests and the most unequal desires: but, however strange it may seem, it is just in the workers' class that the Italian Communist Party has had to record the most noticeable losses. There is a failure in correspondence between the communist propaganda and the real situation of our country: a lack that has been and is noted by the workers themselves and by the laborers that follow the communists. While the general situation of industry was improving, the communist propaganda continued to preach that a worse collapse was on the way. The Iron and Steel Community, the Common European Market, Euratom, were all terrible things that had the most unexpected and unpleasant surprises in store for the Italians. And the life of the Italian worker

continued to be painted in the most somber colors: a humble, miserable and violent life, that fortunately was not the real one but an exaggeration of it. Even at the Congress Togliatti could not resist the temptation to be the demagogue: "We are faced with a relative and in some cases absolute impoverishment of the working class," which is not true even if social conditions have not improved at the rate of improvement of the economy; in salaries "we are at a great distance from the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia," which is ultra-false, a fact that is shown with others by a reading of the "Report On A Journey In The USSR" by the Italian Communist Party Commission presided over by Longo.

According to Togliatti 52.7% of the Italians "go to work on foot to save the cost of means of transport." He talks as if he was not living in the land of scooters and bicycles, as if he was ignorant of the existence of the street car and the bus, as if there were no preferential rates at work-times and no reduced-price commuters' tickets for laborers, etc., etc. According to Togliatti it is even possible to make a comparison between the dwellings of the Italian laborers - which are sometimes very bad - and the dwellings of the Soviet laborers - which are almost always hellish and always subhuman.

Even the latest comforting data on the ebbing of this unemployment have been ignored by this account. This picture of the worker burdened with poverty, brutalized by fatigue, confined within the house, the factory and the canteen, illiterate or almost illiterate, is generally false; a profound change in customs has taken place beneath the eyes of the communist leaders, but they continue to think of the worker as he was in the time of Engels or as he was to be seen in the illustrations to the "social" novels of George Sand or Eugene Sue. The status of the worker is always the same as that of the salaried man, but the conditions of work, the way of life, the social relations with other groups, including those enjoying a higher income, are all different.

Togliatti recasts, maybe without even forcing it, in the moulds of Thorez, who through obsession with belief has maintained and continues to maintain obstinately the existence of the process of impoverishment of the working class; but the working class has the means to observe, by looking back, that if there are still many problems of the family budget the conditions of life are improved and not grown worse.

But for the purpose of the tasks assigned to the communist party the leaders cannot admit this reality and have to substitute for it a completely opposite one.

"This economic situation - said Togliatti in his report - has on the other hand its own what one could call positive side. If the paternalism of certain employer institutions could in some cases extinguish the fighting spirit of some groups of laborers, there is today on the whole a spreading of discontent and of opposition to the present state of affairs."



Here is the core of the hopes and ambitions of the Italian Communist Party. For the socialist democrats and for us vilified revisionists the positive sides consist, when they exist, in the increase of prosperity, the improvement of the working conditions, the disappearance of the need for revolution as an indispensable means of economic, civil and political progress; for the communist leaders on the other hand the positive sides consist in misery, unemployment, everything that creates a "spreading of discontent", everything that radicalizes the struggle, that aggravates it, that makes it resolvable only through intervention by a force organized by the communist party.

#### International Politics

We have already mentioned the onesided and partisan communist idea of relaxation of tension considered as an expression of the humanitarianism of the Soviet Union and as an act towards which the Western countries have to be resigned because of their alleged military inferiority.

The military might of the Soviet Union is one of the most lyrically treated themes in the report by Togliatti; above all it offered him the means to escape from the doctrinal awkwardness of a capitalism that has perforce to be imperialist and therefore have a tendency towards war but that conversely collaborates - or could collaborate - in relaxation of tension and in the peace. Not even our bruised and almost unarmed Italy escapes suspicion of being... imperialist: "though in a position of subordination in this to big American and German capital, the imperialist character of big Italian capital has become accentuated." (Thesis Ia, Part II). Italy truly claims nothing from anybody, has no territorial aims, has no "African sicknesses", or Asiatic, has neither the military means nor the wish to worry itself with adventures that would above all be out of date. But that does not matter; it was necessary to make the syllogism symmetrical and since we have big capital and it is by definition imperialist, here we have Italy also imperialist even if no one except Togliatti has ever noticed it.

It is with similar disingenuousness that all the questions of foreign policy are treated: "the people of Cuba having freed itself from American imperialism", while America did not fire a single shot in the course of the civil war of Fidel Castro against Batista; "this man (Adenauer) claims to deny to the eighteen million Germans living in the German Democratic Republic the right to reject his policy of provocation and of war and to build a socialist society for themselves," while the position of Adenauer and of all the Germans of the federal republic is really democratic and exactly that of he who asks, that the Germans be free to say how they wish to live through elections that are not faked; "one cannot consider as anything other than one of the so numerous acts of cold war, the new political and military pact concluded between the United States and Japan," while of course the pact that has joined for years the

Soviet Union and China is an act of warm peace and one not menacing anyone. And we will spare you the other profound thought of Togliatti in the field of international policy.

#### Relaxation of Tension

The secretary of the Italian Communist Party said, almost in the introduction to his report: "Interest in knowing what we truly are is reawakening in the population." Whether such interest be true or imagined, it is certain that the Italian Communist Party, in the documents presented in the Congress as well as in the interventions for the record made by its most qualified leaders, has put forth its greatest effort to date to have a suitable appearance.

Will Italian communism succeed in having itself thought independent, when it is not; democratic, when it is totalitarian; respectful towards liberty, when it is instead for dictatorship; concerned for the condition of the workers, when it subordinates it to the consistency of its "system"; thoughtful of the fate of agriculture and the farmers, when it would instigate the collapse of the former and the proletarianisation of the latter; solicitous about the interests of small and medium property, when it would proceed to their destruction; anti-monopolist, when it would create a super-monopoly? Will the Italian communists succeed in practicing, to the cost of the Italian people, the great deception practiced in their own countries by the brother parties?

The danger exists, however recent and general the historical experience may be, for the latter is what men neglect most easily.

The Communist Party has exerted the greatest effort to change its appearance but has not made the slightest serious effort to review the basic points in its program: its claim to be the advance guard of the working class, the relations between party and working class, the relations between party and working class, the dictatorship of the proletariat, democratic centralism, the cells organization.

The Communist Party has not wished to face seriously any of these subjects which, though elusive, are still disturbing questions: how was it ever possible for Stalinism to rise and prosper in Soviet society? What system is that which allows a tyrant to do what Stalin did and what party is that which acquiesced in being governed by a monster as its absolute master?

These questions could not be answered with the little stories about the wicked Beria, the personality cult, the lack of collective control.

Let us go further. How was it ever possible that the working class, that all the workers, should have risen against their own party in Germany and Hungary? How can the communists ever have preferred to keep themselves in power by shooting against the workers instead of ceding to the wishes of the workers? The other little story about the "errors" of Rakosi and the "treachery" of Nagy does not answer these.

The communists can only become democrats by revising their programme and reviewing critically the history of the international communist movement. But that is just what they fear to do, is just what they dare not do, and what the present leaders will never agree should be done.

The communists think that to be democratic the make-up is sufficient. Their new maneuver is much less daring for that matter than the great "turn" executed in 1934 when the Popular Front tactic was worked out and for the purposes of realizing it there were made the most solemn declarations of democracy, of liberty, and of friendship towards the parties that up to the eve had been scorned and abused. This was the time when "the most democratic constitution in the world" was launched, the Stalin constitution; a million francs was fixed in France as the limit of communist "respect" for property; the national flag was adopted and - an act without precedent in the history of revolutionary socialism - military credits were voted in the parliament; parliament was designated the organ of socialist change; just for Italy the Fascist platform of 1919 was taken over. And while this wave of words, of proposals, of oaths, this waving of outstretched hands, this display of cockades and of national flags was fluttering before all the world, there was living in Russia one of the most atrocious of evil spirits, whose unimaginable cruelties have been revealed in the Khrushchev Report; in Spain, the revolutionaries who were not in agreement with the communist party were being killed; and through all the world, one at a time or by groups, were being "got rid of", those who did not bend to Stalin or whom he simply did not like.

The Popular Front tactic was continued and made perfect, and everywhere allied parties, middle classes, farmers, and the proletariat itself became the victims of this colossal deception: and there is not one country that makes an exception to the communist rule of successive elimination "slice by slice" of the allies that helped the communist party to possess themselves of power.

The Italian Communist Party asks that "relaxation" be extended also to internal relations and that an end be put to the discrimination from which it suffers. It claims that one cannot talk sincerely about international relaxation of tension without a simultaneous relaxation in internal affairs. In reality international communism wishes to enjoy a privileged position: it asks for the maximum of liberty in the democratic countries, but refuses to grant to the citizens of the communist totalitarian countries the right to think, to speak and to organize themselves outside of the combined control of the party and the communist state.

The Italian Communist Party says it is ready to support a Christian-Democrat government. But how? To use the caustic expression of Lenin about the Bolshevik support of Kerenski, it would support a non-discriminating government "in the way that the rope holds up the hanged man."

The confusion between international relaxation of tension - an act of sovereign states in their reciprocal relations - and the so-called internal relaxation tends to exploit the solid and general attachment to peace of the Italian people with the aim of "conditioning" the government first, then entering to become a part of it, then driving out one at a time the other parties, and remaining alone in power without constitutional encumbrances, without legal limitations, without a press that criticises, without an opposition that gives trouble, without trade unions that make protests. Here we have Togliatti's plan to gain mastery of the power legally to install the dictatorship of his party over the working class and over the whole Italian people.

This is what the IXth Congress was: an organized attempt by the Italian Communist Party to break its isolation, and to reintroduce itself all the same into the political leadership of the country, trusting in the careless good faith of the parties and the elements with feeble memories.

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